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INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSES

1707 H Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Garrison Norton, President

July 17, 1959

The Honorable Gordon Gray
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Gordon:

During our talk on July 7th about the potential usefulness of an association of universities such as the Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA) to the National Security Council, I informed you of a recent action of my Board of Trustees authorizing a widening of IDA's fields of activity, provided appropriate government agencies so desire. In the past, as you know, IDA has centered its activities upon mathematics and those physical sciences related to the technical-military aspects of national security, as exemplified by our WSEG, NSA and ARPA contracts. I am now encouraged by the Board to discuss contractual relations in the political, economic and sociological fields. I believe that you and I were in agreement as to the desirability of applying to the economic and social aspects of our national security, the analytical techniques that have proved so useful in the development of weapons and military strategy. At any rate, you asked me to submit a memorandum on this theme which might lead to discussion of a contract between IDA and the National Security Council; hence this letter.

Since 1945 my experiences as an Assistant Secretary of State, as a consultant to the Secretary of the Air Force, and as an Assistant Secretary of the Navy, have led me to the conclusion that, in the technical-military area of world relations, our government has developed an impressive capability for making "net evaluations" on a scientific basis, and for devising weapon systems and military strategy responsive to these evaluations. This capability stems from a judicious combination of government laboratories and "outside groups" recruited from our scientific community for specific periods and purposes. Largely as a result of this capability, the communist plan for world domination has been radically altered, to the point where the use of military force, while not eschewed, has been assigned a role secondary to all-out attack in the economic and political fields. With skill, flexibility and determination, the Soviets have forged new weapons in these fields and have confronted us with the immediate necessity of devising corresponding weapons, consistent with our own standards and social organization.

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Again, my personal experience has led me to believe that in the years since World War II, the primary concern over political, economic and sociological events in the world has tended to develop outside government -- in academic and other professional circles, not excluding certain segments of the military. Such concern has produced, in my opinion, a degree of analytical competence rarely found in our executive agencies today. This is not said in derogation of these agencies, but rather in recognition of the fact that with important operating responsibilities and budgetary claims, they tend to carry programs beyond maximum usefulness, at the same time contributing to fragmentation rather than concentration of our effort. In a world of ever-increasing complexity, individual executive agencies experience difficulty in recognizing social, economic and political changes which call for new approaches, and it becomes correspondingly difficult for our leaders to analyse the problem and establish new policies.

These thoughts might be summarized by saying that, while no one would suggest any "private" responsibility for military affairs, under our American system the non-governmental sectors of society have a primary and desirable cognizance in the non-military area. The plural nature of our society is perhaps the most unused tool available to us for engagement in the non-military part of the cold war.

Against this background I would rate IDA's potential for service to the National Security Council and to the Special Assistant for National Security Affairs as a very promising one. I believe that these member universities, and the other institutions available through IDA, can bring to bear upon the social, political and economic aspects of our national security problem the same degree of professional competence that they have marshalled in the fields of mathematics and the physical sciences with respect to the military aspects. That they are in a position to do so is attested by IDA's status as an instrument of the academic community in the fields so far chosen by the Board of Trustees and the Department of Defense. Never before, I believe, has there been available to the executive offices of our government a comparable means of utilizing the creative energy and ideas of our universities in the social and economic fields, as distinct from the physical sciences.

What I have in mind might be initiated by the establishment within IDA of a relatively small group (say twenty professionals with supporting staff) similar to our three existing divisions and called, perhaps, the Policy Analysis Group (PAG). The PAG would draw on existing IDA staffs and talent in all the pertinent fields of investigation, but would possess that degree of operational autonomy necessary to the task. As head of such a group I would suggest an economist and political analyst

of national repute such as Professor Max Millikan or Dr. Charles Hitch, but I would not discount the potential of a non-professional for this job if he had the required government experience and organizing ability. PAG's analyses, recommendations and reports would of course be rendered only to the designated office or authority, and would be held strictly within the same bounds of anonymity and security that apply to the other divisions of IDA. While only a modest beginning in view of the vast amount of work needed, such an organization could provide the essential nucleus for a sound step by step expansion of university effort in support of the government.

If the above ideas appear to you to be worthy of further elaboration, I am prepared to submit for your consideration and comment a proposed outline of PAG or its equivalent, including tasks, functions and a suggested manning table.

Sincerely,

Gary